1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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consist of baby animals of the child's own sex. Thus a boy may receive a male colt, calf, or lamb. These are herded with the family's livestock until the child is old enough to look after them himself.

For children other than the first any relative or neighbor (neighbors are likely to be relatives), may act as name giver. Anyone who wants to serve in this capacity may ask if an infant has yet been named. If it has not, he has only to hold the child and announce its name, usually the same as his own, before witnesses. In cases of this sort, the bestowal of gifts is entirely optional, and the godparent incurs no obligation whatsoever.

Formerly, an infant spent the first year or so of its life strapped in a cradleboard, *kupulwe*, but the custom is no longer universal. The Araucanian cradleboard (Pl. II, Fig. 2) is made with a sort of visor to protect the child from the sun, for too much sunlight is believed to cause freckling and cross-eyes. A child is swaddled in soft cloth and then fastened in place with soft leather thongs, in preference to string or cord. Tiny infants are very rarely left alone. Most often they are carried along by the mother wherever she goes, and the cradleboard is placed beside the mother's bed so that she may attend to the child's needs if it cries at night.

Neither weaning nor toilet training follows a rigid pattern. Parents may exert a little pressure in these matters, but on the whole a small child is allowed to follow its own inclinations. The nursing period does not seem to be unduly prolonged,[18] and while a baby is being weaned, it gradually begins to eat the same foods as adults. As to toilet habits, children are taught to defecate out of doors, but they learn to urinate into a small pottery jar, *metawe*, kept within the *ruka*.[19] Each morning the chamber pot is emptied into a larger pottery vessel, kept out-

[18] No instances of suckling up to the age when all the teeth are cut were observed, although such cases are reported in the literature. See Latcham, 1909, p. 360.

[19] Grown women may continue to use chamber pots indoors, especially when the weather is bad, but men generally go outdoors. At a public ceremony in Malalche a man paused to urinate unashamedly in full view of a large number of spectators.

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side, where it is allowed to "ripen" for use as medicine, "soap," or as a mordant. Infant excretions on the dirt floor of a *ruka* are treated with calm indifference. On one occasion I watched a little boy being held by his mother while he vomited into the fireplace. No one, except this observer, seemed greatly concerned.

Although the Araucanians are no longer addicted to bathing in icy streams, as was their ancient custom, mothers still prefer to wash their small youngsters in cold water and to wrap them warmly afterward. Children are bathed often, and the laundering of their clothing is an important feminine occupation. The urine of young boys is highly esteemed for cleaning and shampooing and is said to be particularly good for cleansing the hair of dandruff and vermin. It is rinsed off with water and soap.[18]

When a child is between six and nine months old it is taken from its cradleboard and allowed to crawl on all fours. Soon thereafter it is taught to walk, guided and encouraged by its mother, perhaps with the help of two parallel bamboo rails set at a convenient height.[19]

As is to be expected, Araucanian children suffer from numerous ailments. When a youngster is ill he is kept indoors close by the fire, and his mother gives him such home treatments as she can. If these fail she may call in a more experienced woman, who examines the child and prescribes additional remedies. The term for medicine is *l·awen*, and two of the most popular items are *piukel·awen*[20] ("heart-medicine"), and *liq-l·awen* ("white-medicine"), tentatively identified as quinoa, which is supposed to be good for stomach ailments.

Decoctions of aromatic plants like ginger and cinnamon are

[18] Several informants confirmed the uses of urine as here given. Those who do not have soap may use a saponaceous plant, *kül·a*, identified in Augusta (1916, I: 104) as *Chusquea* spec.

[19] Housse, 1939, p. 255. I was told about this device, but I had no opportunity to see it in use. It is described and pictured in Joseph, 1933, pp. 714–15.

[20] Augusta (1916, I: 185) identified it as *Linum selaginoides* Lam., family Linaceae.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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The method of training the child in toilet habits was not ascertained. A non-Araucanian herbalist had observed that in many families very small children gave notice of their needs to the mother; in other families, children two or three years old were seen soiled. A teacher complained that an 8-year-old girl and a 9-year-old boy were obviously bed wetters; their clothes had a most offensive odor. Children do not undress at night.

CRADLE, TRANSPORTING BABY, HAMMOCK

Araucanians call their cradleboard kupülwe. When speaking Spanish, they call it caballo (horse), not cuna (cradle), the Spanish word used by Chileans. The cradleboard is made before the first child is born and remains in the family until no more children are expected, after which it is given to anyone who asks for it. A cradleboard is never lent or borrowed. In Alepúe area the father makes the cradle; or, if he does not know how, he asks another man to do so. An old woman in the area was positive that formerly one of the grandmothers made it; but all other informants were certain that no woman ever did so. In Panguipulli area the mother makes it if the father does not do so; in Boroa area the mother often makes it.

Two types of cradles were seen. (Pls. 2; 3, 1.) Both were of wood. One has a band over the head end which is attached to both sides of the backrest and extends beyond the foot end; the other has a pole or board attached to each side of the backrest and extending beyond both head and foot ends. A cradle rests on the foot-end protrusions when it stands erect—informants called these protrusions "feet." Ends of feet are pointed so they can be securely planted in the ground. The band (about 2 inches in width) is a shaved-down strip of pliable wood, such as avellano, maqui, or tiaca. It is approximately 2 inches in width and one-half inch in thickness. When attached to the backrest it is bent somewhat above the sides of the backrest. Backrests are slats, of any kind of wood. "I used boards of colihüe because I had them handy."

The baby is prevented from sliding off the cradle by a pole or slat of wood fastened across the foot end of the cradle. A canopy over the baby's face is made by bowing a twig of quila and inserting it on the sides directly over the baby's face. Over it a piece of chamall is hung to keep flies and insects away while the baby is asleep. During the baby's waking hours the twig hangs to the side of the cradle, if attached, or is stored on a shelf or in the mother's workbasket—"some place where it can be found when needed."

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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861 14 pesos for going on a trip with an uncle; a turkey hen, by a mother, for tending little turkeys; 2 pesos, by a brother, for helping to find a horse; 5 pesos for weeding the potatoes; 5 firecrackers as a prize for climbing to the top of a flagpole. Rewards received by girls were candy from a brother for weeding the garden well; chocolates from a father for helping him weed the garden; a hen from a mother for tending little turkeys; a turkey gobbler, a chicken, and a pup for helping a mother; a turkey gobbler from a mother for tending little turkeys; and a chicken from an aunt for tending her chickens.

In general a child that has reached the age of complete comprehension, today as formerly, is coerced, when necessary, to conform to behavior standards. Both parents do so by corrections in stern tones, by scolding in angry ones, by deprivations, by slapping the child's hands, and by spankings or whippings. A mother deprived her 8-year-old son of his freedom because he fought with a boy in the neighborhood. She isolated him in a room for a week; not even for his meals was he allowed to leave it. Since the mother would not relent, the teacher sent his reader to him. By the time his mother released him, he was not only able to read all of the book, but also a newspaper that he had found in the room. "When he returned to school," said his teacher, "he was able to read well, something that he was not able to learn in school in two years." A father deprived a 14-year-old girl of a trip as a punishment: "Because I told a lie, I had to stay home when the others went to Villarrica." A 60-year-old father had deprived his children, when they were young, of a meal, on occasions: "Sometimes, when we sat down to eat, some of them complained about the food. My wife would beg them to eat. But I would order them to leave the ruka and forbade them to eat anything until the next cooking."

Regarding corporal punishment, all mothers agreed that a child not yet able to walk should not be slapped or spanked; most of them thought such corrections useless before the child had the ability to comprehend. One mother thought that anything that could be accomplished by slappings and spankings could be accomplished by instructions or scoldings, but her husband believed that even a 2-year-old child was helped by being slapped, but that always the mother should [863] do the slapping—never a man. Small children had been slapped by mothers for soiling themselves after toilet habits had been established, for playing in mud, and for refusing to be dressed.

In general, parents objected to anyone but themselves slapping or spanking their child. A mother told a non-Araucanian who had slapped her son that the boy had a father and therefore needed no one

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Diapers consisted either of a piece of homewoven cloth or of untanned skin of a very young guanaco or lamb, with wool closely clipped. The skin was rubbed to softness first with a stone (pl. 74, 6) kept for the purpose of softening hides of any kind, and then between the hands. When in use, the wool side was toward the child. If the diapers were of homewoven cloth, the mother had either woven proper-sized ones or she had cut off pieces from worn-down homewoven clothing or bed coverings. Specially made ones were woven of single-spun untwirled yarn; twirled yarn would have made the cloth hard. Diapers were approximately 18 inches square and were worn in skirtlike fashion, overlapping in front. An expectant mother prepared several diapers. Soiled ones were washed in water with leaves of chacay and reused.

The baby's first clothing was its diaper and a wraparound. If the diaper was of cloth, a soft, closely clipped skin of young guanaco or lamb was wrapped over it; if a young guanaco or lamb skin served as a diaper—which it might in very cold weather—the mother wrapped a piece of woven cloth about the skin. All was held in position by binding around the baby a woven band, generally a yard long and 4 inches wide.

By the time a child is able to speak it is expected to tell its toilet needs. "When they are able to use words they ought to be able to tell about that, too. I slapped their bare buttocks whenever they wet or soiled themselves; they soon learned to tell it then."

CRADLE, TRANSPORTING BABY, HAMMOCK

Cradleboards were of two types, both approximately 18 inches wide and 30 inches high. One type—the one described by the oldest informants—consisted of an inverted U-shaped frame made either of a bent cattlehide pasted of hair, or of a braid of willows. The sides of the U were held in position by the backrest to which they were fastened. The backrest was a netting of either strips of colt hide or rope of cattlehide hair, or of sheep pelt. It ended approximately 6 inches from the foot end—the bend of the U was the head end.

The second type, used occasionally today, was rectangularly shaped and consisted of a backrest made of pasted split cattlehide stalks. The stalks were placed alongside each other, either horizontally or vertically, and tied near the ends to two straight cattlehide stalks (pl. 74, 1, 5). Tyings on both types of cradles were done with strands of tendon found along the spinal column of the horse—"this is exceedingly strong," Kolupun noted. He apologized for using twine in tying the

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grow older, competence is demanded by both parents, who express considerable annoyance if chores are not performed well. 861 868

Parental annoyance does not often lead to physical punishment. Children are seldom punished, although often scolded. Parents and grandparents suffer a small child to hit them in a tantrum or playfully, telling them "No! No! Don't be naughty." As children grow older, they might be cuffed or whipped by their father, rarely by their mother. There is nothing systematic about this sort of punishment. It seems to occur in a fit of parental temper, which is suppressed when the child is young. 865

A mother enjoys suckling her children and gives them the breast to soothe them. It is not uncommon to see children with a full set of teeth taking their mother's breast under certain circumstances, often when the mother and child are away from home and the child is tired and restless. I have seen it occur at funerals, weddings, and religious ceremonies at which children whom I had previously thought were weaned took the breast along with a newborn sibling. It is said that in days of polygynous households co-wives took turns nursing each other's children, but as far as I could discover (and there were no nursing children in any of the polygynous households I visited), this does not occur today unless the mother has no milk or is otherwise indisposed. In that case the child is sometimes nursed by a relative or close friend or sometimes fed gruel or canned milk, there being little fresh milk available on the reservations. 853 595

Both mother and father take an interest in their children's toilet training, although the mother has the most responsibility simply because she is with them more than the father. The Mapuche are not rigid in this training and apparently are not disturbed by a child's soiling himself and the floor. Either the mother or the father sweeps or scrapes the excrement outside and cleans the child with a wet cloth. 863

One aspect of a child's early upbringing about which parents seem rather stringent, at least in contrast to their permissive attitudes in other respects, is in discouraging children from crawling. While there is some variation in the way this is done, one of the parents usually sets the child upon its feet or takes it in his lap. Formerly, children were trained in most households by means of a set of parallel sticks of bamboo serving as handholds along which the child could guide himself. 856 861

If the mother is the primary disciplinarian, she is also the main 855